

233/110 cont./ Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect
 221 the size of the veritable displacement of peoples which the
 (171) Cachāba is in the Algerian South (1).

1. A. Bernard and N. Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie, 1906, pp. 36 sq., on the sui generis law of Cachāba. Suggestive description of this displacement in E. Fromentin, Un été dans le Sahara /A summer in the Sahara/, 3rd ed., 1874, pp. 229 sq., and the Cl Villot, Moeurs, coutumes et institutions des Indigènes de l'Algérie /Mores, customs, and institutions of the natives of Algeria/, 1888, 3rd ed., pp. 383 sq. Let us add to this magnificent gallery of Algerian studies the work of L. Lehuraux.

or the slipping S.E. -N.W., followed by the fanning out of the ovine tribes of the Moyen Atlas (2).

2. J. Célérier, "La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas /Transhumance in the Middle Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 53 sq.

Doubtlessly also it is now a matter only of the transhumance of professionals and not of the whole household, and that confers on the movement an import more economic than social. But that is perhaps only a decline. At any rate this veritable strewing of animals and men, which spreads the herds of the high valleys quite far into the plain every winter, is an important sign. And the contrasts -- at the very least immediate and tangible -- that have just been raised offer a not negligible grasp on the intimacy of the institution.

• 231 Now let us approach this pastoral life under its most sedentary
 241 aspect, in its articulation with the mountain horticulture. Its
 (342) liaison with the latter is fundamental. It manifests itself even in
 the house, where the human habitat and the animal habitat

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coexist. It is a "maison en hauteur" /high house/ (3).

3. This is the expression of A. Demangeon, in his suggestive article on "L'habitation rurale en France /The rural habitation in France/," Ann. de Géographie, 1920, pp. 370 sq. A comparison is made with an architecture common all around the Mediterranean: our Pyrenean and Alpine south, the western part of the Balkans, etc. A frequent feature there is the second-floor veranda, which we find here in the form of a sort of loggia: the assqqif.

the base of which is occupied by a shady and oblong stable: the agrur, plur. i^wgrar, source of heat and laboratory of manure.

This manure, amazir, carefully gathered, then spread on the minuscule squares of irrigation, renews a soil worn out by maladroït immersions and a production always kept going. By that, the Seksawa peasantry joins the oldest agricultural classicism of the Mediterranean. It is based on a give and take between man, soil, and animal. It thus contrasts in quasi-absolute fashion with the plains agriculture in Morocco, where this liaison between herd and tillage disappeared sometime at an epoch otherwise uncertain, never to reappear any more up to now.

/111/ The stabling, propitious for the preservation of the young subjects, implies coherent care of the pastures: natural and even artificial. In the fields, at weeding time, for example, but also on the slopes surrounding the village, or in the forest, one sees the women gathering, basket in hand or an armful on the back. It is the men who cut and chop the young leaves of the holm oak or of the juniper tree for their beasts: a resource for winter. A whole range of plants is thus collected, and of such a type that a continuity manifests itself between the foods of man and those of the livestock. The difference between "salads" and provender is not great, and the solidarity between them, as soon as there is trouble or scarcity, is transformed into identity. Thus

231 /111 cont./
 222 the acorn of the holm oak, abuhu, the berry of the juniper,
 262 abelhas, dear to the goats, and whose dessication and grinding
 give man a substitute flour. Normally, the dried turnips,
akhchawn, which play such a great role in the montagnard econ-
 omy, are common to man and animal. The beast is not only
 the neighbor, but the messmate of the village citizen. On the
 246 other hand, this society is familiar with what we call artificial
 fodders. Very rarely still lucerne, which, however, the Sous
 practices (1).

1. But this lucerne, lfesst, did it not formerly
 serve as human food? Cf. the curious observa-
 tions of J. Mathieu, "Étude des conditions de
 vie dans une palmeraie du Moyen Ghéris et
 contrôle de la nutrition de ses habitants /Study
 of the conditions of life in a palm grove of the
 Middle Ghéris and verification of the nutrition
 of its inhabitants/," Bulletin de l'Institut
d'Hygiène du Maroc, I-II, 1939, p. 31.

What one finds here is the fleshy grass (poa bulbosa), maintained
 in the "damp meadow," az'mu. The mowing of the az'mu inter-
 venes after maturity and deposit of the grains on the spot. One
 gathers there a Gramíneae called tâg^wlast, a name that approxi-
 mates that of barley cut green for animal fodder (âg^wlas). These
 prairies are prepared in the shade of olive trees, and especially
 of walnut trees, in all the upper Seksawa: a. Mh'nd, Fensu,
 Wanz'id', Iguntar, Agersili, Tabgurt. The fodder is kept in a
 [343] storehouse until the time of tillage, when it serves to strengthen
 the animals.

246 Finally the mountain pasturages give rise to a wise organiza-
 675 tion of "défens" /prohibition against cutting/. The ban

/276 cont./

794 Sometimes, on the contrary, he collects the right to a prefer-
 875 ence share from the harvest: 1/40 as in a. Lh'sen, 1/30 as in
 212 Imt'ddan, etc. /277/ Just as the dues to the saints establish, not
 the rudiments, but a meticulous system of fiscality, the recom-
 pense of the t't'olba, like the collection and the management of
 the dues, properly establishes in the group an outline of adminis-
 (231) tration. That fully emerges from regular institutions, such as the
 periodic slaughtering of fresh meat, luzi^ct, itself in close rela-
 tions, though not constant, with the sacrifice to the saints,
 (675) tighersi. There, as we have shown elsewhere (1),

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire arabo-chleuh du
 Deren (XVIII^e siècle), " R. afr., 1950, pp. 383
 sq., where these ceremonies are described in
 full. Bibl. of luzi^ct, p. 383, n. 25.

the contractual aspect, appearing in notarial technique, predom-
 inates over all the others.

794 It is the same for the "stipulations" to the saints, chchard.
 675 One will note the identity of this term with that designating the
 (585) authorized marriage settlement to the bride over and above the
amerwas. Thus there we are in full agreement. An act recorded
 175 at the sanctuary of sidi Abderrah'man b. Messâud, in the Mtugga,
 794 illustrates the way in which the great saint of the a. Daud, sidi
 796 Sâid u Abdennâim, founder of a "maraboutic principality" in the
 675 Sous, used it to the end of his days. He summoned the H'âh'a
 (796) and the Mtugga to his bedside. After a pious homily, he re-
 quested of them the annual celebration of a mârûf at the begin-
 ning of the month of "Berbère /Berber/ March, " mars cajâmi
 (sic). They agreed in a great burst of contrition. And of each
 tribe to take it upon itself spontaneously to pay to the descendants
 of the saint -- that one barley, that one butter or oil. The whole
 was styled khidma, "service," and churûit, "stipulations." That
 took place during the tenth century of the Hegira, that is, our
 sixteenth century. And although precisely this saint has no client
 among our Seksawa, the text applies to them equally. It indicates

/41 cont./

342 or lost in a group, in the plains, on the Dir, or in the mountains,
184 in a region of difficult access or, on the contrary, on the course
[642] of a natural route /42/ of penetration. The social and political
state of the tribe also makes its influence felt by imposing a
great simplicity on the exterior appearance in the regions where
republican institutions exist, while in the country of temporal
leaders a taste for decoration and ornamentation develops.
Nevertheless, in order to simplify, one can be content with
essential distinctions and contrast the plains house to that of
the mountains.

On the plains, in the Sous valley, in the land of the Chtouka
and Haha, a type of one-story house predominates, made up of
chambers that open onto the interior of a square enclosure. Ex-
terior protection is usually ensured by a wall of beaten earth
[789] built with a rammer inside a wooden form (1);

1. Because of this construction process by means of a form made of boards (louh), the name of "louh" is often given to the wall itself.

the lower part of the wall is often made of stone, for it gives a better foundation for the whole, and, moreover, the work of thieves who pierce the walls at night is rendered more difficult; in some regions the wall is replaced by a hedge of jujube-tree thorns that exceeds two meters in height, while one or two watchtowers constructed at angles permit keeping watch; at the corners of the wall old pots overturned and bovid skulls ward off the evil eye and chase bad influences far away.

• [231] The flocks are kept in the central courtyard, onto which open
[414] the various separate rooms of the house; in the middle of one side
of the enclosure, a heavy door, closed by a wooden lock,
flanked by wide masonry pillars, protects the entrance. This
door opens into a low room used both as vestibule and storehouse.
[592] When the sons are married, each room is occupied by a
household.

184 /42 cont./

342 household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a
 (574) small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one re-
 ceives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones.

• (231) Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loop-holes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air, sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

(361) These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
 511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
 512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
 (354) the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
 (521) men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
 (251) of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
 (233) leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
 (857) who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
 (462) of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and
 send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.